

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2326

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE: CBM'S TACTICS FOR POST-EASTER SUB-COMMITTEE
SESSIONS

DEPARTMENT PASS TO SECDEF

REF: A) GENEVA 2140

B) STATE 73831

1. SUMMARY. AT UK URGING, ALLIES WITH INSTRUCTIONS
REACHED NEAR CONSENSUS IN APRIL 2 CAUCUS TO HINT TO
SOVIETS THAT VOLUNTARY BASIS FOR MANEUVER CBM WOULD
BE ACCEPTABLE IF SOVIETS COME FORTH WITH MEANINGFUL
CONCESSIONS ON PARAMETERS, IN PARTICULAR ON AREA OF
APPLICATION. ONLY NETHERLANDS DISSENTED FROM THIS
TENTATIVE CONSENSUS. IN APRIL 3 SUBCOMMITTEE SESSION,
AUSTRIAN REP UPSTAGED ALLIES BY PROPOSING "GENTLEMAN'S
AGREEMENT" BY ALL TO ACCEPT VOLUNTARINESS "AS A
WORKING HYPOTHESIS" AND TO TURN IMMEDIATELY TO
DISCUSSION OF PARAMETERS SO AS TO TEST SOVIETS'
PRPORTED FLEXIBILITY. ADEPT SOVIET TACTICS HAVE THUS
ALREADY BROUGHT SUBCOMMITTEE CLOSE TO SOVIET AIM OF
"AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE" ON VOLUNTARINESS, WITHOUT ANY
ASSISTANCE FROM U.S. AMONG ALLIES, AND THERE IS ALREADY
CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT FOR ADOPTION BY SUBCOMMITTEE OF
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PROCEDURE ALONG LINES OF AUSTRIAN SUGGESTION NEXT WEEK.

ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE FOR APRIL 8 ALLIED CAUCUS
IF WASHINGTON BELIEVES WE SHOULD
SEEK TO RESHAPE EMERGING ALLIED/NEUTRAL TACTICAL
APPROACH. END SUMMARY.

2. AT APRIL 2 ALLIED CBM CAUCUS, UK REP CIRCULATED
TEXT GIVEN TO UK DELEGATION CHIEF BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR
MENDELEVITCH EMBODYING VOLUNTARY BASIS FOR MANEUVER CBM,
AS FOLLOWS: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES (NATURE OF
COMMITMENT) NOTIFY ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS ALL OTHER
STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CSCE OF MAJOR MILITARY
MANOEUVRES OF TROOPS, TOGETHER WITH ANY POSSIBLE AIR OR
NAVAL COMPONENTS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOLLOWING
PROVISIONS:" (TEXT IS IDENTICAL WITH VERSION EARLIER
GIVEN TO US ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS PER REF A.)

3. UK REP TOOK LEAD IN ALLIED DISCUSSION OF TACTICS
FOR RESPONSE TO SOVIETS, STRESSING LONDON'S BELIEF THAT
SOVIETS ARE SERIOUS IN COMING TO GRIPS WITH CBM ISSUES
AND HAVE NOW TAKEN IMPORTANT CONCILIATORY STEPS. UK
PROPOSED THAT ALLIES "NOT EXCLUDE" VOLUNTARY BASIS FOR
MANEUVER MEASURE, IF CAREFULLY DEFINED, AND THAT ALLIES
SHOULD NOW DECIDE ON THE "PRICE" THEY WOULD CHARGE FOR
THEIR FULL ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET CONDITIONS.

4. AFTER PROTRACTED DISCUSSION IN WHICH ALL ALLIES
TOOK PART, NEAR CONSENSUS EMERGED AMONG DELEGATIONS
WITH INSTRUCTIONS THAT ALLIES MIGHT NOW BEGIN TO CONVEY
IMPRESSION TO SOVIETS, WITHOUT FULL COMMITMENT AND WITH-
OUT UNDUE HASTE, THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO WORK WITH
NEW SOVIET FORMULA, BUT THAT MORE DETAILED WORK ON TEXT
WOULD DEPEND ON SOVIET REASSURANCES ABOUT HOW FAR THEY
ARE PREPARED TO MOVE ON PARAMETERS, IN PARTICULAR THE
AREA OF APPLICATION FOR THE MANEUVER CBM. IN THIS
PROCESS, ALLIES SHOULD ATTEMPT TO INSERT AS MUCH
LANGUAGE IN TEXTS AS POSSIBLE TO CAPTURE SOVIET ORAL
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF MORAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY
TO IMPLEMENT MEASURE, AND TO MAKE CLEAR THAT ALLIED
INTERPRETATION OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS" WOULD NOT PERMIT
PURELY ARBITRARY OR DISCRETIONARY IMPLEMENTATION.
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FINALLY, ALLIES SHOULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH
NEUTRALS AND ROMANIA TO INSURE THAT THEY HAVE A SATIS-
FACTORY UNDERSTANDING OF DIRECTION ALLIES ARE MOVING.

5. DUTCH REP, HOWEVER, DISSENTED FROM THIS TENTATIVE
CONSENSUS, INSISTING THAT NO IMPLICATION OF EVENTUAL
ALLIED ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET CONDITIONS SHOULD BE
CONVEYED UNTIL MATTER WAS DEALT WITH BY NATO IN

BRUSSELS. UK AND FRENCH REPS, WITH SUPPORT FROM US, TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO DUTCH INSISTANCE ON REVIEW IN BRUSSELS, POINTING OUT THAT ALLIES CANNOT MERELY SIT SILENT IN SUBCOMMITTEE DURING A MOVING NEGOTIATING SITUATION WHILE POLICY REVIEW IS UNDERWAY ELSEWHERE. REPS OF OTHER COUNTRIES WHO HAD SUPPORTED DUTCH IN NATO REMAINED SILENT IN ALLIED CAUCUS, AND DUTCH REP AGREED IN FACE OF AN EVIDENTLY ADVERSE MAJORITY TO SEEK NEW INSTRUCTIONS.

6. CONCERN AMONG ALLIES ABOUT GETTING AHEAD OF NEUTRALS WAS LAID TO REST IN FIRST POST-EASTER SUBCOMMITTEE SESSION IN MORNING OF APRIL 3, DURING WHICH AUSTRIAN NEUTRAL CAUCUS LEADER (GEN. KUNTNER) MADE IMPORTANT STATEMENT PROPOSING THAT CSCE PARTICIPANTS UNDERTAKE "GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT" TO ACCEPT SOVIET TERMS "AS A WORKING HYPOTHESES" AND TO GO ON IMMEDIATELY TO A FULL DISCUSSION OF CBM PARAMETERS, PERHAPS IN INFORMAL SESSIONS, IN WHICH SOVIETS WOULD THEN BE EXPECTED TO DISPLAY THE CONCESSIONS THEY CLAIM TO BE PREPARED TO MAKE.

7. ALLIES SUBSEQUENTLY MET TO COORDINATE TACTICS WITH NEUTRALS IN AFTERNOON OF APRIL 3, AND MOST EXPRESSED CONCERN WITH EXTENT TO WHICH AUSTRIAN REP HAD COMMITTED HIMSELF TO SOVIET TERMS. KUNTNER SAID HE WAS CONVINCED FROM INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS WITH MENDELEVITCH THAT SOVIETS WOULD IN RETURN EVENTUALLY DROP "BORDER ZONE" CONCEPT AND ACCEPT GENERAL APPLICATION OF MANEUVERS MEASURE IN EUROPE. DESPITE THESE REASSURANCES, ALLIES SUGGESTED THAT NEUTRALS PLAY DOWN CONCEPT OF "GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT" AND QUALIFY "WORKING HYPOTHESES" AS "CONDITIONAL" THE CONDITION BEING SATISFACTORY SOVIET MOVES ON PARACONFIDENTIAL

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METERS.

8. COMMENT. IN LIGHT OF SURPRISINGLY FORTHCOMING STATEMENT BY AUSTRIAN REP AND GENERAL INCLINATION AMONG ALLIES TOWARD A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO SOVIETS, SOVIET BILATERAL REQUEST FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE IN PROMOTING ACCEPTANCE OF VOLUNTARINESS SEEMS OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. SOVIETS HAVE IN LARGE PART DONE THEIR OWN GROUND-WORK BY MIXING CONDITIONS WITH CONCESSIONS AND PROMISES, AND BY USING SKILLFUL PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS. ASSUMING PRESENT TREND CONTINUES AND U.S. MAINTAINS CURRENT LOW POSTURE, WE FORESEE THAT DUTCH DISSENTERS WILL NOT HOLD OUT MUCH LONGER AGAINST MORE FORTHCOMING VIEW OF ALLIED MAJORITY, AND THAT PROCEDURE ALONG LINES SUGGESTED BY AUSTRIA AND QUICKLY SUPPORTED BY USSR IS LIKELY TO

BE ADOPTED SOON BY SUBCOMMITTEE AS A WHOLE PERHAPS AS EARLY
AS NEXT FORMAL SESSIONS APRIL 9, 10, 11. ALLIES WILL
THEN PROBABLY SEEK TO INDUCE SOVIETS TO DROP CONCEPT OF
BORDER ZONES FOR AREA OF APPLICATION, AND TO ACCEPT
INSTEAD UPPLICATION OF MANEUVER MEASURE IN ALL OF
EUROPE, WITH AN EXCEPTION ONLY IN USSR (AND EVENTUALLY
TURKEY). HOWEVER, MORE ACTIVE ROLE BY U.S. COULD
SUBSTANTIALLY INFLUENCE PACE AND DIRECTION OF PRESENT
TRAND IN SUBCOMMITTEE, AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE
KEYED TO CURRENT SITUATION IN TIME FOR NEXT ALLIED CAUCUS
ON APRIL 8 IF WASHINGTON BELIEVES WE SHOULD SEEK
TO RESHAPE EMERGING ALLIED AND NEUTRAL CONSENSUS ON
TACTICS IN ANY WAY. DALE

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECDEF.

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